

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

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CONTENTS.

Monthly Summary.....	169	specting the Cuban Slave-Trade.....	183
Parliamentary Record.....	175	European Intervention in the American	
The Bishop of Orleans on Slavery.....	177	War.....	188
African-Aid Society.....	182	The French Government and the Slave-	
Birmingham Ladies' Negros' Friend Society,	182	Trade.....	189
The Dutch Emancipation Measure	183	Reviews.....	190
Deputation to Viscount Palmerston re-		Advertisements.....	191

Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—Our present Summary includes items of information for the months of June and July.

On Wednesday, the 4th of June, the ceremony took place at Birmingham, of inaugurating a statue to the late Mr. Joseph Sturge, raised to his memory by his fellow-townsmen. Full particulars were given in the July Number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

On Wednesday, the 25th, a public meeting on the subject of the Cuban slave-trade was held at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, the Right Honorable Lord Brougham in the Chair. The proceedings were of an unusually interesting character, and the meeting was one of the most crowded which has ever been held in the City. Many hundreds of persons were unable to obtain admittance. The July Number of the *Reporter* contained a *verbatim* report of the addresses delivered on the occasion.

On Friday, the 27th, a banquet à la Russe was given to the President of Liberia, at Willis' Rooms, King Street, St. James', on which occasion an address of welcome was presented to him, signed by many hundreds of influential persons. The Right Honorable Lord Brougham presided, and nearly a hundred and fifty ladies and gentlemen sat down to table. The ceremonial was highly interesting, and is calculated to keep alive and to add to the interest which is felt in the welfare of the Liberian Republic.*

* A special report of the proceedings is in type, and will shortly be issued in a pamphlet form.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

On Thursday, the 17th July, a Deputation from the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* and other gentlemen waited upon Viscount Palmerston, to present him a copy of the Memorial, on the subject of the Cuban slave-trade, which was adopted at the public meeting of the 25th of June, held at the London Tavern. In another column will be found particulars of the interview.

On Monday, the 20th instant, a deputation from the *African-Aid Society* had an interview with Lord Palmerston, to present a Memorial on the subject of the alleged detention, by the King of Dahomey, of certain native Christians and Sierra-Leone British subjects, captured at Ishagga, near Abbeokuta, and on that of the annual custom.

Additional papers relating to the occupation of Lagos have just been published. Her Majesty's Government took possession of the Island of Lagos under a deed of cession by the king, mainly with the object of more efficiently keeping down the slave-trade. It appears, from the report of Commander Bedingfeld, who co-operated with the Consul in obtaining the cession, that the king was very unwilling to sign the deed. He refused several times to do so, and, up to the very moment of signing, was undecided. The chiefs were still more hostile to the change of sovereignty, and the Commander plainly intimates that it required an energetic demonstration to keep them quiet during the negotiations. The king is secured a pension, to be paid out of the revenues of the island.

A recent Number of the *Liverpool Mercury* contains a forcible leader on the subject of the fitting-out of the slaver *Nightingale* in that port.

On Tuesday, the 1st of July, Mr. Hopwood asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether Government intended interfering to stop the American civil war. Viscount Palmerston replied in the negative, with a reservation to mediate should any fair opportunity present itself.

On Friday, the 20th, Mr. W. S. Lindsay announced his intention of postponing, until the 11th of July, the presentation of a resolution of which he had given notice, that the independence of the Southern Confederacy should be re-organized.

On Thursday, July 18th, Sir F. Baring put a series of questions respecting the registration of slaves at Lagos. Mr. Layard replied on behalf of the Government, to the effect that the affairs at Lagos were new to the Colonial Office, but full particulars relating to the subject referred to had been asked for.

On the same evening Mr. Lindsay brought forward his motion for the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. It was met by several amendments, and ultimately withdrawn. The House was adverse to any such recognition, at least at present.

On Tuesday, June 3rd, Lord Brougham put a question with a view to elicit whether the law-officers of the Crown were of opinion that the Slave-Trade Abolition Acts did not extend to cases of foreign vessels fitting out for the traffic in British ports. Earl Granville promised to make inquiry.

On Friday, the 13th, the Earl of Carnarvon brought General Butler's proclamation under the notice of Earl Russell, and also asked what were the intentions of the Government respecting a rumoured mediation on its part, between the Northern and the Southern States of America. Earl Russell expressed his disapproval of the letter, but said the present would be a most inopportune moment for mediation.

On Tuesday, July 8th, Earl Russell moved the second reading of the African Slave-trade Suppression Bill, intended to carry into effect the recent right of search treaty with the United-States' Government.

On Friday, July 12th, Lord Brougham called attention to the fact of the pre-eminence of England in legislative measures to suppress the slave-trade.

On Monday, July 14th, the African Slave-trade Treaty Bill was read a third time and passed.

AFRICA.—Mr. Taylor, British Vice-Consul for Abbeokuta, had arrived, but had taken up his residence at Ake, the people of Abbeokuta having refused to receive him, in consequence of no intimation whatever of his appointment having been sent to them. The war between Abbeokuta and Ibadan continued, and the Yo-

ruba people were much excited against the Abbeokutans in consequence.

A very ill feeling existed amongst the chiefs of Abbeokuta against the Government at Lagos, arising out of the annexation of the latter, and the changes which it has caused in the management of affairs.

The Governor of the Gambia, Colonel D'Arcy, has made peace at Albreda, between the Marabouts of Barra and the Sommikees.

In the Sherbro, war still prevailed in the Boom and Kittim, and difficulties had also arisen in the Kroo country.

HOLLAND.—The Emancipation Bill proposed by the Minister for the Colonies has passed the Second Chamber by a large majority. Many amendments were introduced favourable to the negroes to be freed. The period for declaring emancipation is fixed for the 1st of July 1863. The maximum term of the Government surveillance is ten years. The Government scheme of immigration is rejected. The Bill has yet to pass the First Chamber, which cannot amend it, but must either reject or accept it. Its acceptance is fully anticipated.

SPAIN.—The *Clamor Publico*, published at Madrid, in a notice calling attention to the pamphlet, "*An Address to Spaniards*," recently issued by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and referring to the number of slaves alleged to be annually landed in Cuba, observes "We are progressing."

UNITED STATES.—The news from the seats of war has been varying as the "fortune of war" is said to be. The general particulars are already known to our readers; our record of facts, therefore, will be exceedingly brief.

In the West, Memphis had been captured by the Federals, after the destruction of all but one vessel of the Confederate fleet. Natchez had also been taken. Later advices bring intelligence, however, of the capture of Murfreesborough, Tennessee, and of the taking of Baton-Rouge on the Mississippi, by the Confederates. Vicksburg was being besieged by the Federals, and some thousands of negroes were employed cutting a canal through the swamp in the neighbourhood, to enable the Federal army to invest it on its weaker side. General Beauregard had contrived to elude the vigilance of General Halleck, and had disappeared from Corinth. As great demonstrations were being made against Nashville, it was expected that a portion of Beauregard's forces were in that vicinity, having reinforced General Smith. The Federal force at Nashville is small. It was confidently anticipated that the Federals would experience some heavy reverses in

the West, the season being most favourable for the Confederates, who are acclimatized, and the water-courses are not to be depended on for the passage of the Federal gun-boats.

In the East, the Federals had been compelled to fight several battles before Richmond, in which they had suffered defeat. The first attempt of the gun-boats to pass up the James' river had proved unsuccessful, and they had been compelled to return, with loss. Then, on the 25th, late in May, General Stonewall Jackson, having been reinforced by General Ewell, made a sudden and a most brilliant dash, with a corps 15,000 strong, upon the Federal force under General Banks' command—reduced to 4000 in consequence of drafts made to strengthen General M'Dowell—and caused it to retreat, thus losing the advantage of position it held in the Shenandoah valley. General Jackson, subsequently pursued by Banks, Shields, and Fremont, cleverly effected a retreat over the Blue Ridge Mountains, making for Richmond. The Federal loss in men, stores, and baggage-train, was very considerable.

General M'Clellan having captured Hanover Court-House, on the railroad between Richmond and Fredericksburg, and routed the Confederates with great loss, had reached a point called Bottom's Bridge, some five miles below Richmond. The Confederates attacked a division of his command at a place called Fair Oaks, but they were repulsed after a sanguinary engagement. The loss on the side of the Federals was 890 killed, 3627 wounded, and 1222 missing: on that of the Confederates, 8000 all told, including 4 generals, 23 colonels, 10 majors, and 57 captains, killed or prisoners. On the 14th of June, the Confederates made another bold cavalry attack upon the right flank of M'Clellan's army, destroying much forage and many tents, taking numerous prisoners, cutting the telegraph wires, and then retreated in safety. On the 26th, however, a series of battles commenced, which resulted in the retreat of General M'Clellan 17 miles south of Richmond, to Turkey Bend, where he had massed his troops, on a new base of operations. The following are the names which have been assigned to these battles in front of Richmond:

Thursday, June 26—Battle of Mechanicsville.

Friday, June 27—Battle of Gaines' Mill.

Saturday, June 28—Battle of the Chickahominy.

Sunday, June 29—Battle of Peach Orchard; battle of Savage's Station.

Monday, June 30—Battle of White Oak Swamp; battle of White Oak Creek; battle of Charles City Cross Roads.

Tuesday, July 1—Battle of Turkey Bend.

These successive engagements were of the most sanguinary character. The Confederates, largely reinforced from the Western armies, and numbering nearly 200,000 men, and commanded by Jackson, Rhett, and, it is alleged, Beauregard, determined to envelop the Federals, whose weakness—their numbers not exceeding 95,000 effective troops, on an extended line—was well known to them, and drive them out of the Yorktown peninsula. The fury of the attack, and the obstinacy of the defence, have never been exceeded in the annals of warfare. General M'Clellan, finding himself over-matched, and having, it is said, previous to the attack, determined to operate a change of position, initiated a series of manœuvres most skilfully conceived and admirably executed, which enabled him, after seven days' hard fighting, and nine pitched battles, to re-cross the Chickahominy, and to mass his troops on the James' River, under his gun-boats, and to make good his position. The carnage on each side was awful, and the loss is variously estimated at from 20,000 to 30,000 men. The latest news state that General M'Clellan—who had received a visit from the President—was in a far more advantageous position, and had reported the enemy all quiet. It is said, indeed, that the rebel army had retired nearer Richmond, while General M'Clellan had further been largely reinforced.

A Federal attack on Charleston had also been unsuccessful, and a small Federal force had been defeated at James' Island, in an attempt to carry it by a *coup-de-main*. The summer campaign against Charleston is said to be ended.

In consequence of the events above recorded, the divisions of Generals Banks, Fremont, and M'Dowell, in the valley of the Shenandoah, had been combined, and placed under General Pope, to act specially against Jackson in that valley, and in the anticipation of an attempted movement upon Washington. General Fremont had asked to be relieved of his command, on account of this change, and the President had acceded to his request, nominating General Rufus King in his place. General Fremont had previously fought and won a battle, at Cross Keys, in the Shenandoah valley, inflicting a loss upon the Confederates of 500 men, and suffering himself one of 125 killed and 500 wounded.

In accordance with the suggestion of eighteen governors of Union States, that the army be increased, President Lincoln has called for a fresh levy of 300,000 men.

General Hunter, in reply to an inquiry from Congress, acknowledges that he has drilled and armed negroes; and hopes, by

the end of the fall, to present to the Government 40,000 negro soldiers. One complete regiment of 1000 negroes has already been formed, and will be commanded by white volunteer officers.

Latest advices state that reinforcements under General Burnside had passed up James' River, and that General Burnside will co-operate against Richmond with General M'Clellan.

The House of Representatives and the Senate have passed the Confiscation Bill. It provides for the emancipation of the slaves of all officers of the rebel army and navy; of all high officers of State, judges, and foreign ministers and consuls; of governors and members of State Conventions, legislatures, and judiciary; of all persons who have held office under the United States who take office in rebel States; of all who hold any office or agency whatever under the Confederate States, accepted since the adoption of the secession ordinance of the State in which said person resides; of every person who, after the passage of this Act, shall be in rebellion against the United States, and who shall not within sixty days return to allegiance. The Bill also disqualifies said classes from holding office under the United-States' Government. The President is authorised to negotiate for the acquisition, by treaty or otherwise, of land or countries in Mexico, Central America, or South America, or in the islands of the Gulf of Mexico, or for the right of settlement upon the lands of such countries, for all persons liberated under this Act, to be removed with their own consent. For the purpose of paying the expense of the purchase of lands, and the removal, the President shall use such money as Congress may from time to time direct, arising out of the sales of the property formerly owned by rebels, and which shall have been confiscated to the use of the United States. The President has approved of the Bill, with the modification that it is not to be retrospective. The members in the House of Representatives were 82 to 54, and in the Senate, 27 to 13. The Senate Bill recognising the independence of Hayti and Liberia, and providing for diplomatic relations with those Republics, has been passed by a vote of 86 against 37. The Senate Bill to carry into effect the New Slave-trade Treaty has been passed.

The House of Representatives and the Senate have also passed, and the President has approved of, a Bill prohibiting Slavery in the Territories. The Bill consists of a single section, and provides, that from and after the passage of this Act, there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the Territories of the United States now existing, or which may at any

time hereafter be formed or acquired by the United States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

The Senate has passed the Bill supplementary to the Act for the release of persons held to service or labour in the District of Columbia. One section extends the time for making claims and producing evidence in the case of masters who are officers in the army and navy, infants, wives, and idiots, in conformity to the suggestion of the President in the Message accompanying his signature to the Act. Another section enables the freed man to procure a certificate of freedom in cases where the master has refused or neglected to procure it for him; and still another section authorizes negro testimony to be introduced on the same footing with white testimony before the Emancipation Commissioners. The Bill has passed the House, and received the signature of the President.

President Lincoln has transmitted a Bill to Congress, compensating any State abolishing Slavery. The majority of the members for the Border States repudiate the President's emancipation scheme entirely, but the minority favour the plan.

The Senate has passed the Militia Bill, with an amendment limiting the emancipation to the slaves of the rebels, and authorising the President to receive negroes into the United-States' service for building entrenchments and other purposes as labourers.

The Senate has passed a Bill, admitting Western Virginia as a State, with a clause providing for gradual emancipation.

In the House of Representatives a resolution has been adopted, giving it as the judgment of the House that officers commanding districts in the Confederate States should be instructed to issue a proclamation that the army of the Republic would be subsisted, as far as practicable, upon the property of the rebels, and those who gave aid and comfort to them. A Bill to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law has been referred to the Judiciary Committee. A resolution to instruct the Committee to report a Bill for the repeal of the law was laid on the table—68 to 51. A resolution, however, was passed, instructing the Committee to report a Bill modifying the law—77 to 43.

Mr. Sumner has introduced a Bill to relieve the National Government from all obligations to support Slavery, and of all responsibility for it under the Constitution. The Bill provides, that to the end that just relations be established between the Government and the Slave States: First, all Acts of Congress or parts of Acts, providing for the rendition of persons escaping from service or labour, are hereby repealed; and

there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime, in any territory, forts, dockyards, arsenals, vessels on the high seas, nor any places where the National Government has supreme jurisdiction; and all slaves now held, or attempted to be held, in these places, are declared free.

The *New-York Evening Post* publishes a special despatch from Washington, stating that a forthcoming address of the Republican members of Congress to the people will be in favour of most energetic action in prosecution of the war, and of using all means in their power against the rebellion, and foreign intervention especially.

At a mass meeting held in New York, resolutions were passed favouring persistent efforts to crush the rebellion, and declaring emphatically that foreign armed intervention would be resisted with all the strength of the country. The majority of the speakers favoured the employment of negroes in the war.

The Fugitive Slave Law had been enforced in Washington, in the midst of much confusion and outcry. A collision between the authorities and the people was nearly taking place. The Washington Circuit Court had formally refused a writ of *habeas corpus* for the discharge of an alleged fugitive slave. Subscriptions of money were being pledged to employ eminent counsel to test the legality of the application of the Fugitive Slave Law to the district of Columbia before the Supreme Court of the United States. The claimant of the female slave recently wrested from Marshal Lamon by the military authorities was about entering a suit against him for the recovery of the value of the woman.

A delegation of the Progressive Friends had presented a Memorial to President Lincoln, praying for emancipation. The President received the deputation kindly, and the interview was considered encouraging. In his reply, President Lincoln said that an emancipation proclamation would not attain the desired end, as the Constitution itself cannot now be enforced in the Southern States.

The trial of Appleton Oaksmith, formerly of Portland, on a charge of fitting out a vessel for the slave-trade has been concluded before the United-States' Circuit Court in Boston, and a verdict of "guilty" rendered. The punishment for the crime of fitting out a slaver is five years' confinement in the State Prison, and a fine of 5000 dollars, or, in default of payment of said fine, one year's imprisonment for each 1000 dollars.

Colonel Raasloff, Chargé d'Affaires from Denmark, has addressed a letter to the Se-

cretary of State upon the advantages offered by the Island of St. Croix for the employment of persons of African extraction and negroes found on board vessels captured by cruisers. The island, he says, has been checked in progress for want of manual labour; and he invites the United States to enter into a Convention, whereby the contemplated emigration may be placed under the protection and guarantee of the two Governments. The Governor of the Danish West Indies has also appointed a special agent, who had arrived in America, to make the necessary arrangements. Free transportation is offered to all who will engage to work on the sugar plantations for three years, at the same compensation as the native population. Recaptured Africans, however, being semi-savages, must undergo apprenticeship. Governor Seward, in reply, says he is not authorised to accept the proposition at this time for a convention, as the disposition of recaptured Africans is now prescribed by law.

Reports from the interior of Maryland are encouraging as regards the progress of the emancipation movement. From all quarters of the State the intelligence is, that a party is growing up in favour of acting upon the principles of the President's gradual emancipation resolution, and the prospect now is, that this party will be strong enough to carry the State at the next election. In Dorchester county the largest slaveholders in the vicinity of Cambridge are in favour of emancipation, believing that it will free the State from the incubus under which it now labours.

The State of Illinois has adopted resolutions denying the right of suffrage to negroes, and prohibiting them from holding office. Negroes are also excluded from coming into Illinois. Lest, however, any misapprehension should exist, as to the effect of this vote, we may inform our friends that these resolutions were voted upon, on the occasion of a new Constitution for the State being submitted. They formed parts of the new Constitution, and to make more sure the adoption of that instrument, its friends procured a separate vote to be taken on these articles in it, which it was thought by them might procure its defeat if they were made an inalienable part of the instrument. The whole Constitution having been rejected, it follows that the separate votes are of no consequence. As the present Constitution and State laws already proscribe blacks, the vote on the negro question makes no difference in their relations, and would make none, even if the new Constitution had been adopted.

In the United-States' Court at Louisville, a negro who had worked on the Confede-

rate fortifications at Fort Donelson was declared free.

On the 14th of April, the representatives elected to the first Legislature of the State of Deseret assembled in Senate and House of Representatives. The official message of the Governor was delivered by Brigham Young in person, in which, among other principles, he lays down that the number of inhabitants of a Territory should be no criterion for its fitness to be admitted as a sovereign State into the Union. The most important business that this first Mormon legislature will transact, in its present session, will be to elect two senators for the purpose of proceeding to Washington, presenting the Constitution of Deseret, and demanding admission, as a sovereign State, into the Federal Union. One of these senators has been already elected, and probably both are now on their way to Washington, for the purpose of carrying out the objects mentioned.

It is said that there are 1505 contrabands in and around Leavenworth, about 600 in and around Lawrence, and it is estimated that there are 4000 in other parts of the State, making a total of 6100. Most of the contrabands have secured profitable employment, and are spoken of as faithful and industrious. Many are employed on farms; and there is no probability of any of them becoming a public charge.

WEST INDIES.—From Jamaica we receive private intelligence disclosing a most unfair administration of justice. One of the Justices of the Peace, Mr. W. E. Gordon, having, in the discharge of his duties, brought under the notice of the Acting-Governor, the filthy condition of the jail, and a dreadful case of neglect, resulting in death from actual starvation, and also other irregularities, an inquiry had been set on foot, after a long delay, at which the witnesses produced by Mr. Gordon were not heard. The parties implicated being themselves of the Commission, the investigation resulted in a report declaring Mr. Gordon's charge unfounded, and he has since been struck out from the list of Justices of the Peace.*

The condition of the Coolies on an estate called Hampden was exciting attention. It is alleged that scarcely a week passes but some find their way to Montego Bay, to complain of the treatment. Several had died, and numbers are eaten up with "Chigoes."† They had come in parties of

eight at a time to seek redress at the hands of their agent, Mr. Chamberlain.

In ANTIGUA much opposition was being made to an emigration movement which had been set on foot. The low price of sugar had led to a suggestion for the reduction of wages, and it is urged that the expensiveness of immigration to the planter renders it undesirable.

In BRITISH GUIANA the immigration question had been again prominently discussed, and much dissatisfaction had been caused in consequence of the Governor's having intimated his intention of creating an Immigration Fund to cover the deficit on immigration account, such fund to be composed as follows, namely: First, of the colony's one-third share of the cost; Secondly, of the planter's direct contributions at the rate of eighty dollars for every Indian Coolie introduced, and fifty dollars for every Chinese, and his proportion of the bounty to the Coolies for postponement of their return passage; and thirdly, of a supplemental contribution, in the shape of a tax levied upon certain articles, and almost exclusively by the planters, but now included in the general revenue of the country, and applied to the general service of the colony. This tax is the only one which the planters contribute to the general revenue.

The *Trinidad Colonist* contains a severe leader against any further immigration, on account of its expensiveness, and of the unfairness of the burdens it imposes upon the colony. The Agent-General of Immigrants had published his report, which dwells principally upon the effect and cost of the return passages. He cites one case in which a couple arrived in the colony, with two children, in 1852, returned to India in 1858, and back again to Trinidad in 1861, costing the colony 169*l.*, and leaving it still exposed to the cost of returning them at the end of this term of residence in 1871. The report further discusses the prevention of absenteeism and unsteady labour, and the loss occasioned by "lost time," the total number of days lost during the year 1861 being given at 742,900—labour equal to the production of 600 hhds. of sugar, and valued at 20,000*l.*, dead loss on immigration during the year. The report urges more legal surveillance, to be obtained by giving extended powers to the stipendiary justices, as the best means of dealing with this evil. The number of indentured coolies in 1861 was 10,000, upon 180 estates.

* After a careful examination of the correspondence, we are constrained to say that a more flagrant instance of injustice it has never been our lot to take cognizance of.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

† A minute insect which breeds in the toes and other parts of the body, causing sores and intense itching.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

(Tuesday, June 3rd.)

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

LORD BROUGHAM regretted the absence of the noble earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as he wished to put a question to him in reference to an opinion that was supposed to have been given by the law-officers of the Crown to the effect that the Slave-Trade Abolition Acts did not denounce as felony the fitting-out for that abominable traffic of foreign vessels in the British ports. He wished to ask whether such opinion had been given before or since the capture of the *Nightingale*, which had fitted out at Liverpool, and was afterwards captured with 640 slaves on board.

Earl GRANVILLE said his noble friend, not having received notice of the noble and learned lord's intention to put the question, was not present to answer it, but he would make inquiry into the matter.

(Friday, June 13th.)

THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.

The Earl of CARNARVON wished to put a question to the noble earl the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in reference to a proclamation stated to have been issued by the commander of the Federal forces, General Butler, at New Orleans. That there might be no misconception of the terms of this proclamation, he would read what had been published as the copy of it:

"Head-quarters Department of the Gulf,
May 15.

"As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subject to repeated insults from the women calling themselves 'ladies of New Orleans,' in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered that hereafter, when any female shall by word, gesture, or movement, insult or shew contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation.

"BUTLER, Major-General."

Now he would make no comment on such a proclamation as this. It was either a mere menace, or it was intended to be a reality. If it was merely a menace, then it was a gross, unmanly, and brutal insult to every woman in New Orleans, since it was a notorious fact that all their sympathies were on the side of the Confederate cause. If the proclamation were intended to have a practical effect, he begged their lordships to observe, that by the terms in which it was couched it gave larger and more unlimited power to the Federal troops than had ever been given to any soldiery. They had heard of towns that had been taken by storm being subjected to the violence of the troops; but the proclamation was absolutely without precedent or parallel, in a commercial city that had capitulated, and of which the hostile army held quiet occupation. He would do the people of the Northern States the justice to say he did not believe they were in any sense identified with the conduct of General Butler, and that they would repudiate this extraordinary document. But if this was the way in

which the war was to be carried on in future, it must be a war of extermination. The question he wished to ask was, whether Her Majesty's Government had received any information as to whether this proclamation was authentic or not. He wished also to state that there had been for some days past reports of a proposal made by the Government of France to the Government of this country for concerting jointly the terms of a mediation between the belligerents in this civil war. The whole value of such a mediation must depend on the terms in which it was couched and the spirit in which it was received. But assuming that the mediation would be such as they could join in, consistent with their own self-respect and the material interests of this country, he hoped the Government would give it their earnest consideration. He should be glad to hear from the noble earl how far it was true that negotiations were at this moment in progress between the two Governments with reference to mediation.

Earl RUSSELL.—In answer to the first question put to me by the noble earl, I beg to inform him, that the only information which we have received on the subject is a despatch from Lord Lyons, in which he encloses the newspaper containing this proclamation, and after alluding to its purport, says that the intelligence from New Orleans appears to confirm its authenticity. I believe that the proclamation is authentic, but we have no information as to any opinion—any approval or disapproval—expressed by the American Government. Lord Lyons does not appear to have raised any question with the American Government on the subject, though there is no public act of the American Government disapproving the proclamation; and I do not find that the United-States' Minister in this country has received any despatch alluding to it. For my own part, I sincerely trust, for the sake of the American Government itself, that they will disavow the proclamation, and will refuse their sanction to it. It is important as regards the character of the American Government, but I think likewise it is of importance to the whole world, that the usages of war should not be aggravated by proclamations of this character. War is of itself quite horrible enough, and to add to its horrors by such proclamations, is a grave offence, not only against the particular population who are subjected to hostilities but against mankind in general, whose interest it is that those usages should be made less rigorous and less cruel. As to the proclamation itself, I have been told that it is susceptible of this explanation: the purport of the orders is, that if any woman shall shew contempt for any officer or soldier of the Federal army, she shall be regarded as liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her vocation. Now there are in New Orleans local regulations by which women of the town who are guilty of any disorder in the streets are liable to be sent to prison; and I am told that the meaning of the order is, that any women offending against the American officers and soldiers may be so sent to prison. I cannot answer for this, but I quite feel with the noble earl, that even if the proclamation is not meant to be put in force, it is likely to give

the soldiery a licence for great brutality. For my own part, therefore, I must say that I see no defence for the proclamation, and I can only hope sincerely that the United-States' Government will disavow it altogether, and will declare that it meets with their decided disapproval. The noble earl has asked me as to the truth of a rumour which has obtained currency, that the two Governments of France and England intend to offer their mediation in America. The spreading of this rumour may prove exceedingly mischievous, and therefore I am glad to have an opportunity of stating the true state of the case. Her Majesty's Government have made no proposals of the kind to the Government of France, and the Government of France have made no such overtures to them. Moreover, the French Ambassador here has stated that he has no instruction on the subject, and I need not say, therefore, that there have been no communications between the two Governments of the tenour which has been spoken of. Without giving any opinion as to the propriety, at some time or other, of offering our good offices or mediation, I must say that I think the present time would be most inopportune for such mediation. No good could come of it, and in the present state of the war, and in the present embittered state of feeling on both sides, such an offer would rather tend to prevent any good result from being attained if a similar step should be hereafter taken. Certainly there is no intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to mediate at the present moment.

THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.

Lord BROUGHAM hoped that Her Majesty's Government would come to some agreement upon another subject of the gravest importance. In consequence of the American grant of the right of search, he was informed that an attempt would be made to transfer the slave-trade to a French port, and to carry it on under the French flag. In this very city men were taking steps to engage in the slave-trade, in proof of which he would read this letter from a highly respectable merchant of London: "The circumstances to which I alluded arose in the following way. A gentleman, with whom I am intimately acquainted, named to me that an offer was made to him to join others in the African trade. I immediately made observation that I trusted it was not in the slave-trade, to which he replied that it was, and I therefore declined. I remarked, How will this affect the right of search established with England and America? Upon which he snapped his fingers, and said it was the intention to sail under French colours, and the point of departure Marseilles. My friend further stated that a very large amount of money was at command, but that every movement was conducted with the utmost secrecy." He had no doubt that the French Government would hear with indignation of this attempt to make Marseilles a slave-trading port, and to carry on this traffic under the French flag; but, under the circumstances, it was absolutely necessary that some communication should take place between the two Governments, so that France might extend the right of search to us, which she had done for a few years.

Earl RUSSELL could assure his noble friend that this subject had not escaped his attention. As soon as the treaty with the United States was ratified, he wrote a despatch to Her Majesty's ambassador at Paris, stating the probability that now the United-States' flag should be no longer used for the purposes of the slave-trade, other flags would be resorted to, more especially that of France, and urging the French Government to enter into some treaty or convention upon the subject. It appeared that the treaty of 1845 put an end to all former treaties which had been in force between the two countries. It was provided that that treaty should last ten years, and that then, if not renewed, it should expire. In 1855 there was no proposal on either side to renew the treaty, which, therefore, expired. It was certainly necessary now that some new arrangement should be entered into between the two Governments, and his noble friend might rely upon Her Majesty's Government to do all that was in their power for the suppression of the slave-trade.

(Tuesday, July 8th.)

AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

Earl RUSSELL, in moving the second reading of the African Slave-trade Bill, stated that his object was to carry into effect the treaty recently agreed to between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States for the suppression of the slave-trade. Its provisions were similar to those of other measures which had been passed in previous years against the slave-trade. It would give a right of mutual search on the coast of Africa and other places; and it would establish courts at Sierra Leone, the Cape of Good Hope, and New York.

The Earl of DEBBY hoped their lordships would unanimously carry into effect the treaty recently negotiated with the United States. It was well known to every one that the main inducement to carry on the slave-trade had been for a long period the refusal of the United States of America to enter into any agreement for mutual search. He trusted that any other Power that still covered that horrible trade with the protection of its flag would be converted, as the United-States' Government had been, into enemies of that traffic. The Bill, he hoped, would not be opposed.

The bill was read a second time.

(Friday, July 12th.)

SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

Lord BROUGHAM wished to call the attention of the House to an erroneous impression which prevailed, that the American Government were before the British in taking steps to put down the slave-trade. It was said that the American Government had passed their Act in 1820, whereas the British Act was passed only in 1824; but, in justice to himself, he must say that he had brought in a Bill in 1811 to make the slave-trade piracy, which Bill became law, and that the Act of 1824 was only a consolidation of the previous ones passed for the suppression of this infamous traffic.

The subject dropped.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(Friday, June 20th.)

THE RECOGNITION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES OF AMERICA.

The question having been put that the Speaker should leave the chair, in order that the House might go into Committee of Supply,

Mr. W. S. LINDSAY said that it had been his intention to have submitted to the House that evening a resolution, the object of which would have been the recognition of the Southern States of America, but many hon. members whom he had consulted, and whose opinions he was bound to respect, had recommended that he should postpone the motion. In deference to their opinions he proposed to postpone it until the 11th of July. Before that time he trusted that Her Majesty's Government would see the necessity of taking in hand a question so grave and important, and one which properly belonged to the Executive, and would render it unnecessary for any private member to submit to the consideration of the House the desirability of recognising the Southern States, because it must be apparent to all men that before long those States must become an independent nation.

(Tuesday, July 1st.)

Mr. HOPWOOD asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether Government intended to take any steps to endeavour to put an end to the civil war in America.

Lord PALMERSTON said: I trust I need not assure the hon. member and the House [that Her Majesty's Government are deeply sensible of the sufferings now existing in the cotton-manufacturing districts. We know that the privations in those districts are great, and also that those who suffer them have endured them with the most heroic fortitude and patience, thus doing the greatest possible credit to their understanding and intelligence. They know that the sufferings which they endure have not resulted from any bad legislation or any misconduct on the part of the Government of the country. They know they are caused by circumstances in other countries over which we have no control. Her Majesty's Government would be most happy if it were in their power to do any thing which would be likely to afford relief to those unhappy classes of the population. But I am sure the House will see that any thing like interference with the war now going on would only aggravate still more the sufferings of those now under privation. With respect to mediation and good offices, there is no doubt whatever that both Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the Emperor of the French would be delighted to avail themselves of any opportunity that appeared to offer a fair prospect that such a step would be attended with success. But in the present state of the contest, while the two parties seem animated with the most vehement anger and resentment against each other, I am afraid that any proposal of that kind would not be well timed, and would be sure to meet with objection on both sides. If, however, at any time, a different state of things should arise and a fair opening appear for any step which might be likely to meet with the acquiescence of the

two parties, it would be not only our duty to offer our services, but would afford us the greatest possible pleasure to do so.

(Monday, July 14th.)

AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE TREATY BILL.

This Bill was read a third time, and passed.

(Thursday, July 17th.)

THE SLAVE-TRADE AT LAGOS.

Sir F. BARING asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any ordinance had been issued by the Governor of Lagos for the registry of slaves there; and whether Government had issued any directions with respect to persons who were in a state of Slavery at Lagos at the time when it became a British possession; and, if so, whether there was any objection to laying these directions upon the table.

Mr. C. FORTESCUE said that the affairs at Lagos were so new to the Colonial office that he was afraid he should not be able to give much information on the subject of the right hon. gentleman's question. He had no knowledge whatever of any such ordinance as that referred to having been issued at Lagos. No direction had been sent by the Secretary of State on the subject of Slavery, but the noble lord had called for full particulars upon the subject from the governor.

(To be continued in our next.)*

THE BISHOP OF ORLEANS ON SLAVERY.

ON the 6th of April last, being what is commonly called Passion Sunday, the Bishop of Orleans addressed to the clergy of his diocese a letter on the subject of Slavery. This communication is in every respect a remarkable one, and being intended for a particular class who possess the entire spiritual control of their flock, its exhortations would probably reach thousands who had never before heard of Slavery, or who would, at least, know very little of its nature and tendencies. Believing that the reverend prelate's words of sympathy for the slave may not be without value to many thousands of our countrymen, here and abroad, we venture upon its republication, in the hope that it may bear fruit in due season. We make no comment upon the address itself. Its earnest spirit, and the lively faith it breathes, will commend it to all, even to those who may differ from the author on religious grounds.

SIRS AND DEAR COLLEAGUES. — Seldom do you allow the distant echo of foreign politics to reach you. Your presbytery—which I so love to visit—is the abode of peace, of study, of prayer, and of charity. During Lent you do not, however, even inhabit it: the whole day long, you dwell

* The important debate on the subject of the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, which took place on the same evening, we are obliged to defer recording until our next issue, owing to want of space.—(ED. A. S. R.)

in the church. You are, as it were, upstanding before man, and on your knees before God, to preach and to pray; invoking upon men the looks and the pardon of God; supplicating them to meditate with you upon the death of Jesus Christ, and to unite with the sufferings of his cross the sufferings of their lives.

In the midst of your pious occupations, I do not come to intrude a disturbing thought; I come to solicit a prayer. Prayer is our own particular politics; it is our part in the great events of this world. To speak of God to men, and of men to God, is our mission. It is one of no small moment, even in the order of the terrestrial interests which are so ardently discussed amongst men; for it is God who holds in his hands the hearts of peoples and of kings, and who inclines them whither He will: it is He who now abandons them sorrowfully to their own courses, now arrests them on the brink of the abyss, and by grace brings them back whether they choose or not, either by throwing a flash of light upon passing events, suddenly shewing them the depth of evil into which they were about to plunge, or by a still brighter light cast upon their souls, which brings them to a knowledge of true wisdom.

Be this, however, as it may, Sirs, the most indifferent well know that things below do not occur without the powerful concurrence of circumstances, which they call chance, but which we others designate and recognise as interpositions on the part of God. While they await them, as blind men, we, more enlightened, cease not to raise to Heaven a confident and peaceful voice for the happiness, the progress, and the future of the whole world.

We are seen praying for Syria and for Poland; for England and for Russia; for China and for Africa; for the victories of France, and for the victories of the faith; for those who suffer, who weep, who hope; for those who wail, and who pray with us; and also for those who do not pray, who do not wail, but who are blinding themselves, and who forget.

This day, the Sunday of the Passion, at this hour, when the standard of the Cross is raised in all our temples, at the sight of this holy symbol of deliverance and redemption, I have said, "My God died upon the Cross for all men, nevertheless are there men yet upon the cross! He died to deliver them from all bondage, nevertheless are there men—the turmoil in the world which exists at the present moment on account of them reminds me painfully of the fact—millions of men yet in Slavery.

Good Friday will soon be here. On that day, the Catholic Church, upright at the

foot of the Cross, its eyes fixed upon those extended arms which embrace the entire world, will commend to the Saviour in sublime prayers, Christians, Heretics, Jews, Pagans, and we shall pronounce with her these beautiful words:

*"Oremus Deum Patrem omnipotem, ut cunctis mundum purget erroribus, morbus auferat, famem depellat, aperiat carceres, vincula dissolvat."**

This is the pure spirit of the Gospel and of Jesus Christ. Was it not thus the Divine Redeemer of men announced his mission to the world: "The spirit of the Lord has rested upon us," said he, "to preach the Gospel to the poor, to console the afflicted, to comfort the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and liberty to those who are in bonds?"

And after the Divine Master, was it not Saint Paul, one of his most fervent disciples, who gave out to the pagan world the sublime cry: "There are no longer masters nor slaves, for we are all brethren in Christ Jesus?"

Ah! but at this time, in Christian countries, after eighteen centuries of Christianity, after these words from Jesus Christ, after this cry of St. Paul's, ah, there are still slaves in the world!

Sirs, it is in behalf of this portion of humanity, so wretched and so cruelly oppressed, that I come to solicit you to pray: yes, let us pray: let us pray for the poor slaves.

If I have felt impelled, at this time, to commend to you this sad, this holy cause, and to solicit your prayers, it is on account of the holy days in the midst of which we are, and also because of the news recently arrived from the far-off land in which this grave question is being painfully agitated, and towards which the eyes of Europe are turned.

The truth is, the old and the new continents are moved: politicians speak for and against: commerce is disturbed: blood flows in civil war. Sirs, let us pray. In great social crises, in which we cannot remain indifferent spectators, our great duty is prayer.

Thus, Sirs, do not wait for me to take sides in the lamentable quarrel which divides the United States of America. I am told that the North does not deserve much more sympathy than the South; that questions arising out of commercial tariffs or political supremacy have had more influence than the question of Slavery in the schism whence the war has sprung.

* Let us pray to God, the Father Almighty, to deliver this world from all its errors, to save us from sicknesses, and from famines, to open the prisons, and remove all bonds.

I am assured that the Abolitionist party has rendered itself odious by its excesses, whilst the slave-masters act in good faith, and often with kindness. It is pointed out to me that there are more Catholics in the South than in the North and citizens engaged in both armies, with equal patriotism, who sincerely believe, each on their side that they are serving the cause of justice.

It is alleged that if the Union be reconstructed, the liberation of the slaves is certain, and that if a separation be consummated, their emancipation is not impossible. People are striving to persuade me that our manufacturing interests are involved in the success of the South, those of our commerce in that of the North; that we must desire the stability and the unity of a nation which we contributed to liberate, and which serves as a make-weight in the scale against other nations, or, just the reverse, that we have to fear the aggrandizement of a people whose example and aggressive spirit threaten the world.

I know nothing of all this.

But what I do know is, that in the United States there are yet four millions of slaves, two millions in the rest of America, in all six millions of slaves in Christian lands* eighteen centuries after the erection of the Cross on Mount Calvary. What I do know is, that the horrors of war have been let loose by this redoubtable question, that the peace of the world is threatened by it, is already troubled.

But what I am happier in knowing is, that by a recent and important Act, a message, dated the 8th of March, communicated to Congress by the President, and voted by a large majority, regular, equitable, pacific measures have been proposed for the purpose of putting an end to Slavery, and adopted.

An indemnity is offered to all the States which will consent to undertake the gradual abolition of Slavery within their limits. No one can predict what will be the result of this proposition, as that will depend upon the reply of each individual State. None are forced to adopt it. A limit is set to the evil, and a remedy is submitted. It is the first time these sixty years that the central authority has taken its stand on this question, and that it invites the whole nation to combine in a vigorous effort to suppress the evil.

Without being solved, the question is being seriously looked at. One step has been taken; one hope is open. It is one reason the more for me, an inexpressible

want, to pray to God, that He may vouchsafe to bless an undertaking of which we must desire the peaceful solution.

I am aware of the objections of those who plead for Slavery. I will not discuss them at any length.

No! Let me not be told that the slaves are happy, and that, moreover, facts accomplished become legitimized by duration.

The slaves are happy! Yes, perhaps, under the best masters they eat, drink, and enjoy a few hours' rest; perhaps, even, they can corrupt one another at will. But have they a domestic hearth? Have they family? Have they paternity? Have they freedom? Poor disinherited of the human family, they have lost not only their birthright, but all their rights; and because the mess of porridge is still left to them, they are said to be happy!

As to the doctrine of accomplished facts, I have attacked it too resolutely as applied to the temporal goods of the Church to accept the extension of its spiritual dominion to that which we most value—human souls!

Ah! The Church knows the value of souls! and if she has so often sacrificed a portion even of her incontestable rights, when the paramount interests of her mission did not make it her duty to maintain them, it has been with a view to give her the right of saying to the whole world, with all the energy of her love: "Your souls: give me your souls, and keep the rest." *Da mihi animas, cetera tolle tibi.*

Nor let me be required to discuss the theoretical question of Slavery: let me not be reminded that ancient society succumbed to it: let no attempt be made to demonstrate to me, by means of unrealizable hypotheses, that Slavery is not sinful in itself, considered from a certain point, and under certain conditions.

I leave the abstract theory and look at the facts only. I seek to learn how often in history these conditions have been fulfilled, and how, humanity being constituted as it is, they could possibly be fulfilled. I do not regard the exceptional cases, but the condition itself, the very fundamentals of human life and dignity, condemned by Slavery to irremediable abasement.

I care nothing for abstractions and hypotheses. I could say much upon the origin of this obstinate and so long universal plague-spot. How did man reduce his fellow-man to Slavery? I defy any one to explain this, without taking original sin into account. How has the slave again become the equal of the master? I defy any one to explain this, ignoring the Redemption. Slavery is so odious, that its

* The revered prelate understates the number. In the Southern States there are 4,000,000; in Brazil 3,000,000; in Cuba above 1,000,000; in Surinam 50,000.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

origin is not to be understood ; so convenient, its end is not understood either.

Were I to touch upon the theory, I should shew that the unity of the human family, which is for us not an opinion, but a dogma—let me be understood, a dogma—and one of the bases of our creed, has also become a dogma of science. I should shew that the unity of the human family, the principle of dignity, of equality, of humanity amongst men, condemns and reprobates Slavery. I should refer my opponents back to the works of Blumenbach, of the Tiedmanns, of Humboldt, of Geoffrey St. Hilaire, I should appeal to my learned colleagues, M. Flourens and M. de Quatrefages ; to the celebrated report of M. le Duc de Broglie upon this great subject ; also to the admirable work of M. Wallen upon *Slavery in Antiquity* ; to the grand and generous work of M. Augustin Cochin on *Modern Slavery* : these are men and writers otherwise authoritative than those vain sophists, who, alone in the present day, out of hatred to Christ and to his Church, attack, with all the strength of despairing science, this Christian dogma of the unity of our race, though with it should perish the dignity, the fraternity, the liberty of mankind.

But let us leave theory alone.

I will contest nothing that is objected in favour of this sad cause. I will not discuss the subtleties of doctrine. But I demand that the truths of experience be not ignored.

Now, experience shews that Slavery never yet initiated or prepared for freedom. The longer it lasts, the more onerous it becomes. The more it extends, the more it degrades ; and never does it abolish itself. You refuse to free the slaves, because, say you, they are incapable of appreciating freedom. Well, I tell you that this alleged incapacity for liberty is sustained by servitude, if it do not create it, and make the slaves crouch down under it.

Experience teaches us also, that Slavery as it is, negro Slavery, has an origin, and has consequences both abominable. Its origin is in the slave-trade, a vile and cruel traffic, condemned by Pius II. in 1482, by Paul III. in 1557, by Urban VIII. in 1639, by Benedict XIV. in 1741, by Gregory XVI. in 1839. The consequences are the annihilation of the family tie, anathematized by every human heart ; the destruction of liberty, not only that of the slave but of the master, for it is carried to the extent of prohibiting him to write in favour of freedom and to have his slave taught to read.

There are then, upon the same earth as myself, children of God and sons of man as

I am, saved by the same blood as myself, destined for the same heaven, five or six millions of my fellow-creatures, in the United States, in Brazil, in Cuba, in Surinam, who are slaves ; men, women, youths, young girls, infants, aged of both sexes.

Just heaven ! Is it not time indeed, after eighteen hundred years of Christianity, that we should all begin to practise the eternal law : *Do not unto others that which you would not have others do unto you ; and that which you would have your brethren do unto you, that do unto them ?*

Is it not time that we should all lend an ear to the great words of the Master : *Love ye one another, for thus shall ye be known as my disciples, if ye love one another.*

For eighteen centuries we have repeated these words to the slaves, to allay their anger : we shall do so again : but this apparently gives us the right of appealing to their masters in favour of justice.

Since Jesus Christ, St. Paul, and the Apostles laid down the principles of universal emancipation, the most illustrious preachers of the faith, the greatest of the Bishops, the greatest of the Popes, have each in turn spoken in the same sense.

Know, then, you who calumniate the Church every day, that if the Church rebukes licentiousness and passion, she loves human liberty ; for liberty, according to the plans of God, who has not made man a foolish slave, liberty is the point of departure of all the virtues, of all moral grandeur, of all civilization, of all progress ; and the Church, which has constructed modern society, deplores every thing which degrades humanity, daughter of God, or arrests its course, while she blesses every thing that relieves it, perfects it, elevates it.

This is the evangelical spirit, this is the spirit of the Church, and the fascination of habit and of interest, which can alone explain the perseverance in Christian lands of the evil I deplore, cannot interdict us here from directing anew the attention of the world to the true and pure inspirations of Christianity.

We have the right also, we priests, to raise our voice, and to complain of the part which other of us priests are made to play. You, the clergy of my diocese, you who present the Gospel to families whom the Gospel has formed, you, in the heart of free and well-constituted society throughout which the Gospel each day scatters its benefits, you who preach unceasingly to those who surround you, the holy equality of duties, of rights, of aspirations, imagine the position of the Catholic Missionary between masters and slaves !

Suspected by the one or by the other, preaching to the masters a justice which interest contests; submission to those whose fetters he would strike off; endeavouring to resuscitate the will, the dignity of creatures without liberty, debased in their own eyes, the priest has, under such circumstances, to fulfil a most painful mission. Indeed and indeed faith is good for us all. I pity those, whomsoever they be, whose life is advancing towards its decline, without the light of faith. With faith, we may at least tell the slaves that there is no condition on earth whose goal is not heaven. Religion alleviates the fate of the poor slave, when it softens the heart of the master; but it rebels against a system which maintains man in brutal abasement.

We are ready to preach to the condemned, to follow them upon the scaffold, to live with galley-slaves, to evangelize idiots, to dress the sores of the wounded, to tend the sick: we are ready to comfort the slaves; we love them, and they love us: but we hate Slavery. I admire the Bishops and the priests in slave countries. At the same time I trust to themselves, I confide in their heart, their conscience, their dignity, in the honour of their sacerdotal character. They suffer, for they know, as I do, that our religion is a religion of free men.

Let us, then, be left to pray. Pray, Sirs, pray much, that a pacific solution of this lamentable problem of Slavery be prepared, do ripen, be consummated.

I am not ignorant that the work is at once less advanced and more difficult than it seems. These masters, they must be indemnified: these slaves, they must be civilized.* I am aware that amongst the masters (God forbid that I should judge them too harshly or accuse them) are some of good faith; many humane. They did not make the situation: they regret it: they merit an indemnity. Yes! And already it is offered to them. These slaves, when they have been set at liberty, must be brought into the state of society, and Slavery has scarcely prepared them for such a change.† But the priests of Jesus Christ, and all Christians, men of heart, will labour in their behoof. In a word, I know the difficulties; but they have been exaggerated: it has been forgotten that mutual wants create between men certain relations, ties, a necessary agreement.

* In reproducing the text of the reverend prelate's noble allocution, it must be understood that we do not endorse all his sentiments.

(Ed. A. S. R.)

† The reverend prelate seems somewhat at variance with himself. He has asserted the indefeasible right of all men to liberty, and appears here to question its policy.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

There exists notwithstanding the difficulties in question; and they are serious. But it is precisely because the work is not accomplished that we must pray in order that it may be simplified and be consummated.

My venerated co-adjutors, the Bishops of the province of Bordeaux, united in council at La Rochelle in 1853, with the new Bishops of the colonies, three years after the emancipation of the slaves in the French possessions, issued the solemn declaration, approved by the Holy See:

"The Catholic Church has ever deplored the hard Slavery in which a multitude of men are kept, *to the detriment of their souls*, and has not ceased to endeavour to remedy this great evil."

Under the protection of these great words, and of so many others equally apostolic, I place the ardent vow I form that this *hard Slavery* must at length cease from the surface of all Christian lands.

Alas, Sirs! I know that the slaves are not the only men who are oppressed. There are countries, even in Europe, there is an Ireland, a Poland, a Syria, in which oppression has a different form, without therefore being the less misfortune.* My compassion for the one does not hinder my sympathy for the others. I do not understand men who resign themselves to an evil, having only the embarrassment of selecting from amongst the many motives they have for indignation. No! Let us not adduce one evil in an excuse for another evil. Let us labour to destroy the first, then the second. For myself, never will I resign myself to any thing that is evil. I deplore all wickedness, and would remove it; and if my life could be spared so long, with the grace of God I would devote it entirely in bringing my feeble share of effort and of labour, to effect the disappearance, one by one, of all those evils which afflict humanity. If I could act, I would act: if I could speak, I would speak: if I can only pray, at least I will address my prayer to God.

For these reasons, Sirs, I have felt impelled to beseech you to pray specially for the slaves.

In those touching, universal prayers which you recite every day, in the exercises for the evening, and in which the Church commends to God, travellers, the sick, the dying, the afflicted of all kinds, after the afflicted, name in your hearts the oppressed slaves. I ask this of you, Sirs; I ask it of all my diocesans. The moment appears favourable. Ask God to consummate the work commenced, and if your prayers are

* The reader will probably be surprised to find so enlightened a man as the reverend prelate labouring under this singular hallucination respecting Ireland.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

not heard to-day, repeat them to-morrow, and until they are accepted by Him whom we do not vainly call God the Highest and the All-beneficent.

Receive, Sirs and dear co-adjutors, the renewed assurance of my profound and affectionate devotedness in our Lord.

✠ FELIX, Bishop of Orleans.

Orleans, Passion Sunday, April 6, 1862.

AFRICAN AID SOCIETY.

THE annual meeting of the African Aid Society was held May the 29th at the offices, 8, Adelphi Terrace, Strand. Lord Alfred Churchill, M.P., presided, and amongst those present were Colonel Sykes, M.P., the Hon. A. Calthorpe, Mr. W. Scholefield, M.P., Captain F. A. Close, R.N., Mr. Lyons M'Leod, and others. The report minutely detailed the operations of the Society since its commencement. Steps had been taken by the council to bring the barbarities committed by the King of Dahomey under the notice of the Government, the report being that her Majesty's Government had decided upon sending a commissioner to Dahomey to remonstrate with the king on the subject of the slave-trade, and to adopt measures for its discontinuance and the annual sacrifice of human beings. It was proposed to establish an industrial mission at Amba Bay, in co-operation with the Missionaries already established there. From the specimens of the raw produce which had reached this country from Amba Bay there was every prospect of it becoming a valuable settlement, which would open the neighbouring healthy terraces of the Cameroon mountains. Samples of cotton from Amba Bay had been pronounced by Manchester manufacturers better than New Orleans, and worth at present 12½d. per pound. Special funds were being raised to send out as soon as possible cotton gins to be worked by steam, capable of cleaning 700lb. of cotton per diem, and a variety of useful machinery. The report then described the products of the country adjacent to the Niger River, and detailed the steps which have been taken to put a stop to the slave-trade. The chairman moved the adoption of the report, and Mr. Scholefield, M.P., seconded the motion for its adoption, which was unanimously carried. After other speeches, a vote of thanks to the chairman closed the proceedings.

BIRMINGHAM LADIES' NEGROS' FRIEND SOCIETY.

WE append a condensed report of the proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the *Birmingham Ladies' Negros' Friend Society*, held on the 15th of May, and which was excluded from our last by press of matter. The meeting was attended by 150 subscribers and friends, including three gentlemen—Rev. G. S. Bull, Rev. G. H. Townshend,

and Rev. T. M. Kinnaird—from Hamilton, Canada. The Rev. G. S. Bull had offered to come to the meeting, wishing to express his interest in the part lately taken by this Society in diffusing information on the Cuban slave-trade, and the increasing activity with which it is carried on. He stated his desire that this town, as a central metropolis, should hold meetings in different localities, and send memorials to the Government, urging, in the strongest manner, the fulfilment of the treaties Spain has repeatedly made for its abandonment. We apprehend this is still called for, notwithstanding the check that will be given by the concession on the part of the American Government to the right of search. At the suggestion of one of this Society's correspondents, the London Society have prepared a paper for distribution among the Spaniards coming to the Exhibition, with the view to awaken a public sentiment in Spain against this dreadful traffic. It has been stated that 10,000 persons came from Spain to the Exhibition of 1851. A new document was laid on the table, entitled "Visits to Slave Ships," just issued by the London Society, by Mr. M'Henry, Surgeon of the Liberated-African Establishment at St. Helena. After describing the dismal and diseased condition of the poor crowded victims on board, he remarks, "As to the moral agonies they are fated to endure, how can I properly describe them? Their separation from what they have loved and cherished—the loss of home and absence from their country, the forfeiture of personal liberty, the degradation of servitude, their cruel imprisonment, the abject wretchedness of their present lot, the lack of hope for the future, the blank despair—each and all of these sentiments must have been felt by some throbbing human breast there; and the nobler the heart the more terribly it must have realized the horrors of that abyss of misery." The report was longer than usual, though it contained only the chief points of the subjects which it comprised, viz. American affairs, the condition of things in the West Indies prior to and since emancipation (an important question in the present struggle in America), the Slave-trade, the transactions of the Cotton-Supply Association, the proceedings of their own Society during the past year, and miscellaneous remarks confirming the observations of J. S. Mill on the pro-slavery leaning of some of our most eminent journals. It was impossible to read to the meeting a tenth part of the information respecting the more than 20,000 slaves liberated by the war in America, for whose assistance associations have been formed in many of the large cities. One main object, after the relief of their destitution, is to find the means of employ-

ment for these so-called "contrabands," that they may become industrious and independent of help, and thus a system of general emancipation be inaugurated. An account was rendered to the meeting of the disposition of the income of last year. The several grants were to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, to Missionaries for schools in Jamaica, Antigua, and Demerara, every gift to which appears as usefully bestowed as it is highly appreciated. There were two donations to Africa, one for schools in the Mendi country, sent through the *American Missionary Association*, the other to the *African Aid Society*; two also for fugitives making their way to Canada through Philadelphia and Syracuse. A subscription is made to the *Cotton Supply Association*, whose operations are considered to be tending, on a large scale to the extinction of Slavery; a donation to W. S. Bailey, of Kentucky, who has fought for abolition for so many years; and, lastly, a sum was reserved for current expenses. At the close, the Rev. T. M. Kinnaird addressed and interested the meeting.

THE DUTCH EMANCIPATION MEASURE.

A LETTER from the Hague, of the 12th July, says:

"The majority of the Second Chamber, tired of the vacillations of the Government on the slave question, some time ago declared in favour of immediate emancipation, with a limited surveillance, and an indemnity for the owners. It was after this declaration that the last Colonial Minister presented two Bills for emancipating the slaves in Surinam, Curaçoa, and other islands dependent thereon. The new plan was based on four fundamental principles: 1. Immediate emancipation; 2. Surveillance for ten years; 3. An indemnity to the masters of 300 florins for each slave; and 4. The immigration of free-labourers at the expense of the State. The Chamber was a week discussing the first Bill, that for Surinam, the most important. We must say, to the honour of the Dutch Legislature, that it was unanimous in its sympathies for the poor negroes who have so long been flattered with the hope of freedom. Indeed, every speaker endeavoured to render the law as liberal as possible. M. Van Bosse introduced several amendments which greatly improved the Bill. The Colonial Minister, on his part, shewed that the Government was at last fully determined to settle the question. He therefore offered no opposition to amendments which did not affect the principles of the Bill, particularly to that of M. Van Bosse, authorizing the Governor of Surinam to exempt from State surveillance all negroes who should distinguish themselves by their good conduct. This good understanding between the Government and the Legislature, has enabled the Second Chamber to vote, this day, the abolition of Slavery and the emancipation of the negroes in our colonies, from the 1st July next."

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 1, 1862.

DEPUTATION TO VISCOUNT PALMERSTON RESPECTING THE CUBAN SLAVE-TRADE.

On Thursday, the 17th ult., a Deputation waited, by appointment, upon the Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston, at Cambridge House, Piccadilly, to present the Memorial on the subject of the Cuban Slave-trade, adopted at the monster meeting held at the London Tavern, on Wednesday, the 26th of June. At the same meeting a resolution was passed, to the effect that the members representing the City should be asked to head the deputation, in conjunction with Lord Brougham, and to support the Memorial. Unfortunately, during the delay intervening between the application for the interview and the fixing of the day for the same, Lord Brougham was obliged to leave town. The Deputation was therefore deprived of the advantage of his support. It consisted of the following gentlemen:

The Hon. A. Kinnaird, M.P.; J. I. Briscoe, Esq., M.P.; Charles Buxton, Esq., M.P.; Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P.; Western Wood, Esq., M.P.; E. Baines, Esq., M.P. (by proxy); the Revs. Dr. G. Hewlett, Dr. J. Carlile, Dr. J. A. Emerson, and the Rev. W. Owen; Captain Kennedy (late Governor of Sierra Leone); Lieutenant-Colonel Rigby (Her Majesty's Consul, Zanzibar); Dr. Norton Shaw; John Morland, Esq.; Josiah Forster, Esq.; J. R. Burchett, Esq.; Joseph Cooper, Esq.; William Allen, Esq.; J. Finlay, Esq.; E. B. Underhill, Esq.; Thomas Clegg, Esq.; J. Mules, LL.B.; D. McLaren, Esq.; Thomas Norton, Esq.; John Giles, Esq.; W. Heather, Esq.; R. Coleby, Esq.; J. Lyons McLeod, Esq.; H. W. Mackreth, Esq.; H. Pinkus, Esq.; T. B. Smithies, Esq.; J. Willey, Esq.; R. Thwaites, Esq.; Gerard Ralston, Esq.; T. E. Stokes, Esq.; G. B. Wood, Esq.; Charles Irwin, Esq.; Wm. Craft, Esq.; and L. A. Chamerovzow.

Letters of apology for unavoidable absence were announced from Mr. Crawford, M.P., Baron Rothschild, M.P., the Bishop of Oxford, and some twenty other gentlemen.

Mr. WESTERN WOOD, M.P., on introducing the Deputation, explained the reason of the absence of Lord Brougham, and expressed his regret at the absence of the other members for the City, which cast the duty upon him of submitting to Lord Palmerston the Memorial they had been invited to present in a body. That Memorial had been adopted by a very large

meeting held at the London Tavern, on the 25th of June, under the presidency of Lord Brougham, whose name had been so intimately identified with the abolition of the slave-trade and Slavery for the last half century. Although he (Mr. Wood) had been prevented from attending it, he had heard that it was a crowded and influential meeting, and he believed the resolutions and the Memorial, unanimously adopted by it, accurately interpreted the sentiments of the large majority, not only of the citizens of the metropolis, but of the people throughout the country. Assuredly they conveyed his own; and though he regretted that the task of presenting the Memorial had not fallen into abler hands, he did not regret the opportunity which the occasion afforded him of bearing his personal testimony against a traffic which disgraced modern civilization. Trusting the feebleness of his advocacy of the cause would be overlooked, in his earnest desire to contribute, however little, to its success, he would ask permission to read the Memorial, which was signed by Lord Brougham on behalf of the meeting.

Mr. Wood then read the Memorial, and handed it to Lord Palmerston.*

Mr. JOSIAH FORSTER said he felt reluctant to come forward, lest he might be thought to be placing himself in a position of undue prominence; but he felt so deeply on the subject which had been brought under the notice of Lord Palmerston, that he trusted he might be excused if he made a few observations. In the first place he would take that opportunity of acknowledging the personal obligations under which he felt to Lord Palmerston, for the kind letters of introduction he had given him, when, some few years ago, he and others had taken a journey to the United States, for the purpose of bringing the question of Slavery under the notice of the various Governors; letters which had proved very useful, and had probably, in some instances, facilitated the objects of the Deputation. He believed Lord Palmerston was sincerely desirous of seeing the slave-trade entirely suppressed, but he (Mr. Forster) was, nevertheless, most painfully impressed with the apparent powerlessness of the Government to deal with the evil, although it was admitted that we had a right to require that Spain should take effectual measures for the suppression of a traffic so revolting to humanity. It was a melancholy, a distressing reflection, that after upwards of fifty years of effort to abolish it, the slave-trade should be still continued, and forty thousand of our fel-

low-creatures be annually made slaves in Cuba, not to dwell upon the number—quite double, he believed—that were sacrificed in the preliminary stages. It was shocking to think how much misery was caused by the failure of Spain to fulfil her obligations. We found the Government of that country was not actuated by sentiments of honour, or it was scarcely possible to conceive that, after receiving a large sum of money to indemnify her for alleged losses, and to secure her co-operation, the slave-trade to Cuba should still be carried on. He had been exceedingly shocked to hear that a vessel had been fitted out at Liverpool, for the purpose of engaging in the slave-trade, and he was informed that it was not a singular instance. Within the last few days, too, it had been publicly stated, upon the authority of a highly-respectable merchant in the city, that a considerable sum of money had been subscribed, in London, to carry on the slave-trade under the French flag, from Marseilles. He hoped it was not true, or, if true, that some means would be employed to prevent the plan from being carried out. Those with whom he co-operated felt it to be their duty, upon religious grounds, to press this subject upon the attention of the Government, as well as upon the public generally, for the slave-trade was an open violation of the principles of Christianity, as it was equally an outrage upon humanity. They did not propose any course to the Government, as they considered that the Government ought to be aware of its own power, and know what means were at its disposal, to induce Spain to carry out her treaties. He believed this might be done without going to war, which he most strongly deprecated. Lord Palmerston had experience of the efforts which had been made up to the present time, to abolish this traffic in human beings, and had himself been active in the same direction. He trusted Lord Palmerston might be spared, and might have the satisfaction to see the work which was commenced in his earlier days, consummated in his declining years, and that, as the head of the Government, he would lose no time in taking steps to obtain from Spain the fulfilment of her engagements.

Mr. BRISCOE said he would only intrude for a few moments upon the valuable time of Lord Palmerston, to express his own sentiments on the subject of the continued prosecution of the slave-trade by Spain. Some decisive step ought to be taken to compel her to fulfil her engagements, and he thought the Government ought not to hesitate to exercise more pressure for that purpose. The sufferings of the thousands of human beings who were made the victims of this immoral and wicked traffic, were

* For text, see July Number of *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

not to be described, and it was really quite a disgrace to the Government that permitted it to be prosecuted, when it was well known it possessed the power of abolishing it. It was, however, still more shameful that British merchants should be found engaging in it, or willing to lend assistance to others, as was the case in Liverpool, and, as had been stated, even in the City of London. Most sincerely he hoped measures would be adopted calculated to prevent these schemes from being carried out.

GOVERNOR KENNEDY (late Governor of Sierra Leone) would take that opportunity of confirming what had been said of the extent to which the slave-trade was carried on from the West Coast of Africa. Of this fact he had ample opportunity of judging during the time he had the honour of administering the Government at Sierra Leone. He had found the law, as it then stood—and he believed it had not been altered—inadequate to the punishment of a certain class of offenders, who, nevertheless, put the Government to great trouble and expense, and ultimately returned to resume their nefarious occupation.

MR. CLEGG said that being much interested in the developement of West Africa as a cotton-field, and having experimented there himself, to a considerable extent, at a large outlay of capital, he thought he might claim to speak with a degree of knowledge, when he asserted that the suppression of the slave-trade had a direct and most important bearing upon the question of cotton-production in Africa. The slave-trade disturbed legitimate commerce, and diverted the people from peaceful pursuits. It was the means of unsettling and desolating their homes, and it also seriously interfered with private enterprise, and the employment of capital for the encouragement of the extended cultivation of cotton. He had very small hope that cotton could be grown extensively as a staple of general exchange, so long as the slave-trade continued to rob the country of the people that might be profitably employed in agricultural and other pursuits.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON said the Deputation had rightly interpreted his sentiments with regard to the suppression of the atrocious traffic, and no man had more severely denounced, than he had, the disreputable conduct of Spain in this matter. Really no language was too strong to employ in speaking of her in connection with this subject. He would, therefore, fully concur in that of the Memorial. Spain, indeed, was the only European Power which might be considered responsible for the continuance of the slave-trade, for it was undoubtedly true that she could close the

Cuban market; and, as the Memorial set forth, if that were closed, the demand for slaves would necessarily cease, and the traffic—in so far as Cuba was concerned—would cease simultaneously. Her conduct was in striking contrast to that of Portugal, which had abolished the trade from her possessions on the West Coast of Africa, though he feared another and a new kind had recently sprung up between Loanda and the adjacent island of St. Thomas. This traffic consisted in the transferring of negroes from the continent to the island, who were furnished with passports, and designated as domestics, which was perfectly legal when they were domestics, but who, being in reality slaves, and were shipped off to Cuba. Representations to the Portuguese Government had been made on this subject, and no doubt steps would be taken by it to prevent this abuse in future. No doubt, too, slave-trading took place from the Mozambique and its vicinity; but though the Portuguese Government sent men there as Governors, who were honestly disposed, they soon yielded to the pressure brought to bear upon them, and in the end not one was better than another. A portion of the traffic from this part had been carried on by the French, under the designation of free immigration, but every one knew this was only the slave-trade under another name. The new immigration treaty with France, which came into operation on the 1st of the present month, would stop this trade, so here at least was a clear gain to humanity. He feared that what slave-trade might be carried on, from this time, would be exclusively to Cuba, and would continue, with more or less activity, until Spain did her duty, and closed that market. He was glad to say that Brazil no longer imported slaves. There existed a coastwise traffic between the provinces, but no foreign slave-trade. The British Government had been able to deal stringently with Brazil, which at one period imported forty thousand, fifty, sixty, even seventy thousand slaves in one year. But Brazil had accepted the treaty obligations of Portugal in this matter; and when that Government—being bound by the Convention of 1826, which was identical in its conditions with our Portuguese treaty of 1817—declared the Convention at an end, as it was privileged to do, and it was found that the slave-trade still continued, and remonstrances availed nothing, Lord Aberdeen brought in an Act, in 1845, which gave British cruisers a right to detain Brazilian vessels trading in slaves, and to our Vice-Admiralty Courts the right of condemning them. This right was founded upon the declaration by Brazil, that slave-trade was piracy, according to the Convention of

1826. The putting into execution of the Act of 1845 had, he thought, materially hastened the abolition of the Brazilian slave-trade; for when it was found that our cruisers did not hesitate to seize slavers, even when under the guns of a Brazilian fort, the authorities set to work to suppress the trade, and they effected it within the space of a year. That had been an enormous gain. At the present day, though the traffic was, unfortunately, carried on to Cuba to the extent set forth in the Memorial, yet, upon the whole, it had certainly been greatly diminished, probably quite two-thirds, since its cessation to Brazil, and this was so far encouraging. But in dealing with Spain, we encountered a serious difficulty at the outset. She had not consented, and would not consent, to consider and to treat slave-trade as piracy, but she permitted us the right of search. We had mixed tribunals, and, in fact, she had given us every facility for ascertaining the character of vessels sailing under her flag, and of condemning them if they were proved to be engaged in the slave-trade; so that we had only one thing to complain of, and that was, that she took no effectual steps herself to prevent the traffic. The majority of slavers, too, sailed under the United-States' flag. Now, for a long course of years the Government of the United States had refused us the right of search, and had resented its exercise. But last November Mr. Seward proposed to Lord Lyons to draw up an informal memorandum or agreement, conceding a mutual and limited right of search within a certain distance of the African and Cuban coasts. Such an offer was highly creditable to the American Government, and Her Majesty's advisers were much pleased to see so important a measure inaugurated at Washington. It would not, however, have been convenient—indeed it would not have been legal—to act upon an informal undertaking of this sort, and therefore we intimated that it was desirable it should be embodied in a treaty, and duly ratified, on the one hand by the Congress, and on the other by the British Parliament. This was accordingly done, and the ratifications had been recently exchanged. This Convention was calculated greatly to facilitate the capture of slavers sailing under the American flag, and was a highly important step in the right direction. Thus, on the other hand, the British Government had recently obtained the cession of Lagos, which would enable it to deal with the slave-traders there, and in the vicinity; and it was under consideration how the King of Dahomey should be dealt with, and the slave-trade prevented from his ports. He believed that if the slave-trade could be put down

on the coast, legitimate commerce would soon spring up. Some persons thought if legitimate commerce were established it would be the means of extinguishing the slave-trade. This seemed to him like putting the cart before the horse. Legitimate trade could not flourish where the slave-trade existed, and, *vice versa*, the slave-trade, and legitimate commerce could not live side by side. But put down the slave-trade and legitimate trade would not only rapidly take its place, but would prevent the other from being ever again re-established. The Government was doing every thing in its power to encourage and protect commerce on the coast. He admitted, however, that these various expedients were only meeting the evil halfway, for no doubt the enormous profits of the trade in slaves, and the great demand for fresh negroes in Cuba, stimulated the obtaining of negroes on the African coast, and in the interior, and kept the slave-traffic alive. But though we had a perfect right to do so, we could not go to war with Spain. We should not be justified in endeavouring to suppress one evil by having recourse to another far greater. The Spanish Government had taken our money, and undertaken to do a certain thing for the consideration we had paid her. Well, it replies to our remonstrances that it is doing its utmost to carry out its obligations, but that it cannot control the traders in Cuba. Certainly during the last year, the Spanish cruisers seized some 3000 slaves on board the slavers, and captured above three hundred more after they were landed. This seemed to be a vigorous proceeding, and doubtless the Captain-General, Marshal Serrano, might put the trade down, if he continued this line of action. He believed the present Captain-General was an honourable man. Unfortunately, it was only too notorious, that every new Governor made himself conspicuous at first, by some energetic proclamation or action against the slave-trade; but this only had the immediate effect of raising the value of the bribe paid by the slave-traders to the authorities for conniving at the disembarkation of freshly-arrived slaves; so that these officials rather liked a simply demonstrative Captain-General than otherwise, while he might—if disposed to follow the general example—ultimately find himself greatly benefited by his own demonstration. He thought he might say of Her Majesty's Government that it had neglected no opportunity of making the strongest representations to Spain on the subject of her continued infraction of her slave-trade treaties, and of urging their fulfilment; and the Deputation might rest assured that no effort should be wanting on its part to obtain

justice. He would refer to one other point. Allusion had been made to certain parties in the City of London, who were said to be engaged in the slave-trade. There was no doubt they were liable to punishment, under existing Acts of Parliament. Generally, however, it was exceedingly difficult to bring the crime home to them, for their movements were secret, and the evidences of guilt were seldom forthcoming when needed, notwithstanding that rumours might be current, and be even well founded, that certain persons were interested in slave-trade ventures. The case of the *Nightingale*, which fitted out at Liverpool, and to which reference had been made, might or might not be an isolated case, but it proved that the slave-traders had been disturbed in their old haunts, and were seeking new ones. He believed the laws of that country were competent to deal with every case in which the delinquent was a British subject, but he was not sure whether they would reach him if he happened to be a foreigner, and his vessel not an English vessel. This point might, however, be ascertained, and he was under the impression that quite recently the law-officers of the Crown had it under their consideration. With respect to the prosecution of the traffic under the French flag, immediately upon the circumstances being made known to the noble lord, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the right of search treaty with the United States was likely to be partially annulled by the adoption of the French flag for slave-trading purposes, his lordship submitted a proposition to the French Government, suggesting that a Convention similar to that concluded with the United States should be entered into between France and England. He regretted to say this proposal had not been acceded to, but the French Government had promised to take effectual measures for preventing vessels for Africa from being fitted out in a French port, without a close scrutiny of their cargo. In conclusion, he could only add, it had given him great pleasure to receive a Deputation so large and influential, and he was glad of the opportunity of assuring the gentlemen present of his entire sympathy with this object.

Mr. CHAMEROVZOW would solicit permission to offer a few observations upon the reply which his lordship had made to the Memorial and to the Deputation. Speaking for those with whom it was his privilege to be associated, he confessed to a feeling of exceeding disappointment, when he reverted to the small hopes which had been held out, that Spain would consent, at last, to fulfil her obligations. Doubtless the new right of search treaty with the United

States was excellent so far as it went. But he begged to submit that it would be operative only against such vessels as sailed under the United-States' flag. It was, however, notorious, as a reference to the Parliamentary Papers on the slave-trade would shew, that the majority of the slavers which succeeded in landing their cargoes in Cuba, evade the cruisers altogether. The estimated number of captures, as given by the officers commanding the cruiser squadron, was one in four to those never coming within hail. The slave-traders' calculations of profit were based upon the supposition that one out of six would escape, but their returns shewed that actually the number was five out of six. In presence of such profits, it was obvious that every effort would be made to evade any new preventive measure, however well conceived. The simple fact was, that with respect to what was to be done with Spain, we were left in precisely the same position as before. She continued the traffic, and we continued to remonstrate. To the representations of the Government, she answered by excuses which were intentionally designed to hood-wink, nay, to deceive—yes, to deceive the Government. It was perfectly clear that she did not intend to take any steps to put down the slave-trade. Recently, Mr. Crawford had written to Earl Russell to say that Marshal Serrano had intimated that were slave-trade made piracy it would soon be put down. Earl Russell, in his reply, expressed a hope that the Spanish Government would adopt that suggestion. But that very same proposition was submitted to it, direct from the British Government some six years ago, when Lord Howden was at Madrid. After a delay of two years, during which time the question had been referred backwards and forwards from Madrid to Cuba, then from Cuba to Madrid and London several times, and when the Consul-General at Havana had most conclusively disposed of the elaborate objections of the Captain-General, the Spanish Minister, being pressed for a categorical reply by Lord Howden, peremptorily, nay, almost insolently, refused to entertain the subject any further. It was, therefore, very unlikely that the Spanish Government, with Marshal O'Donnell at its head, would be more favourably disposed to consider a proposition for suppressing the slave-trade so radical in its effect as the making of that traffic piracy would be. The Committee of the *Anti-Slavery Society* did not discourage efforts in any other direction; but they had come to the deliberate conclusion, that the only way to put an end to the Cuban slave-trade, was to close the Cuban market; and this the country had a right to expect Spain to

do. To this end the Committee intended to devote their energies, with a view to strengthening the heads of the Government, and to stimulate it to exert a little more pressure upon Spain. While he would not presume to undervalue the efforts which his lordship had particularly adverted to, he confessed, that so long as the Cuban market remained open, he did not feel so sanguine as his lordship appeared to be, that the slave-trade would cease, but he rather thought we might expect to see it live and flourish for an indefinite time. He had made these few remarks with a view to bring the attention of his lordship to the one point the Deputation came to urge, and which was set forth so prominently in the Memorial.

Mr. RALSTON begged to express his regret to hear that the French Government had declined to accede to a right of search treaty similar to that concluded with the United States. He also thought the Spanish Government ought to be pressed to make the slave-trade piracy. It had been for many years a favourite project of his (Mr. Ralston's), and the more he had considered it, the stronger his conviction had become that it was the only mode to prevent slave-traders from introducing slaves into Cuba.

LORD PALMERSTON said, that in the general proposition he had expressed his entire concurrence, but all Governments did not see precisely alike, and we must be content with such concessions as we are able to obtain. He could only add, that the Government would willingly receive suggestions on the subject, and would be glad to be strengthened by any pressure from without. The Deputation then withdrew.

EUROPEAN INTERVENTION IN THE AMERICAN WAR.

THE interesting debates which have taken place in both Houses of Parliament, and the prominence which has been given by the press to a discussion of the grave question of European intervention in the American struggle, which, without circumlocution, means simply a recognition of the Southern Confederacy, imposes upon us the duty of not permitting so important a subject to pass over without comment. From the commencement of this most unfortunate contest, the well-paid and by no means scrupulous partisans of the South, and of Southern institutions, in this country, have spared neither pains nor talent to poison the public mind against the North, and to indoctrinate it with their own sentiments. Foremost in this mischief has been the *Times*, which has, with its usual effrontery of assertion, persistently and premedi-

tately misled the public as far as its influence could reach. To every communication calculated to depreciate the efforts of the North; to every publication advocating Secessionist and pro-slavery principles; to every fact detrimental to the cause of the North, it has given every publicity, while it has treated with utter indifference, nay, completely ignored, every thing which would tend to exhibit the South and Secession views in their true light, and to demonstrate the fact, that the Southerners are fighting solely for the maintenance of Slavery. As much may be alleged against those other journals which have followed in a similar track. The small successes of the Southerners have been exaggerated into important victories; victories have been panegyrized as unprecedented in the magnitude of their results; the movements of Southern generals have been lauded as brilliant illustrations of the perfection of military strategy, and the position of their armies has invariably been commented upon as the very best they could take up, under any circumstances; their numerous defeats have been treated lightly, and represented as in nowise weakening them; their ultimate success has never once been called in question. In Parliament, and out of it, Secession has found the ablest advocacy, and the design has evidently been to prepare the public for a measure of intervention, and for the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. As a necessary corollary to this one-sided argument, the North has been systematically maligned and misrepresented. After fifteen months' war, it is asserted to be in a much worse position than it was. No account is taken of its having effectually maintained that blockade which Southern partisans in England and France strove so hard to induce the two Governments to break, nor of its having secured the command of the whole coast-line of the Atlantic sea-board, and the course of the Mississippi. Granting all the difficulties of the military occupation of an area so vast as that of the Seceded States, bare justice has not been done to the superhuman efforts to accomplish the object by those strategic movements which have placed the interior railway system of the rebel States under the control of the Northern commanders. The dashing exploit which led to the surrender of New Orleans; the brilliant manœuvre which gave Huntsville to the Federals; the stroke of genius which devised the cutting through the swamp a passage for gun-boats, and which sealed the fate of "Island No. 10;" the various successes of the Federals, almost invariably under circumstances most adverse to victory; the last series of sanguinary combats before Richmond, sustained against over-

whelming numbers, and resulting in a retreat which the most competent military judges in Europe assert to have had no parallel in modern warfare; the wonderful organization of half a million of citizens into that dreadful machine of destruction called "a disciplined army;" the gigantic efforts of the North to raise, equip, maintain, and reinforce that army; the enlightened policy of the Federal Government in relation to the great question of Slavery; all this, and every thing worthy of note which the North has done, has been shirked or passed over, has been contemptuously referred to, has been depreciated, and what for? What for? That sympathy might be secured for a Confederacy, based upon treason, robbery, and violence, and whose one purpose, aim, and object is to consolidate and to perpetuate Slavery.

We are encouraged to perceive that, notwithstanding the combined efforts to pervert public sentiment, to which we have adverted, the Parliament sustains Government in its policy of non-intervention. Dreadful as is the spectacle of a million of armed men opposed to one another in deadly conflict; of a country desolated and wasted by the march of contending troops, blackened by the ruins of burnt homesteads, and of crops destroyed by the brand; awful as is the carnage whenever the opponents meet; melancholy as is the prospect of ruin which it requires no foresight to discern rapidly approaching; we say, unhesitatingly, Europe, England, has no right whatever to interfere, either officiously or officially, until one or the other party shall invite it to mediate. The distress in our manufacturing districts, and the paralysis of our staple industry, are, unfortunately, only the penalty the nation has to pay for its short-sighted dependence upon one source of supply, and that source contaminated by the sin of Slavery. If eternal justice sooner or later punishes individual wickedness, shall it be doubted that a nation, steeped in a particular sin, will escape its penalty in the due course of events? The half-starving operatives are the least to blame and the most to be pitied. Their ignorance is their valid excuse. But our merchants, our brokers, our money-lenders and bill-changers, our ship-agents and proprietors, our cotton-spinners and printers, have they dwelt in ignorance of the source whence their riches were derived? Have they not known that, slave-men, slave-women, slave-children, produced the cotton that brought them golden gains? Have they not known that but for their support of Slavery, in the purchase of its products, they were rendering themselves privy to its guilt? Have they not been exhorted, times and oft, to

direct their genius for commercial enterprise to other quarters, for the supply of this valuable staple; and have they not turned a deaf ear to these words of worldly prudence? Are not they primarily responsible for clothing the people with the fruits of slave-labour? Aye, and is not the Legislature morally responsible also, for its supineness in the government of that vast peninsula (India), whence alone might have been, may be, derived all the cotton needed to meet our national wants? Sad as it is to look at the distress now prevalent, still it constitutes no legitimate basis for our interference.

Then, politically, right have we none. Should our intervention be solicited by either belligerent, our course would be clear. But we cannot recognise the independence of the Southern Confederacy—and intervention without invitation would be recognition—until that Confederation shall remain master of the field, or of the position; shall have fully established its independence; shall have exacted from the North a reluctant, though even a tacit consent, to regard it as independent. The law of nations forbids such recognition under present circumstances; our relations with the Federal Government forbid it; the usages of Europe forbid it; and may the day be yet far distant, may it never come, when freedom-loving, abolitionist England, shall be called upon to admit to fellowship a community based upon the crime of Slavery, and to associate itself with a nation of slaveholders, slave-dealers, and slave-traders.

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

MANY of our readers, and the public generally, will probably recollect, that on the 13th of June the Right Honourable Lord Brougham called the attention of the House of Lords to a communication which had been placed in his hands, and which set forth that certain persons in the City of London were engaging in the slave-trade; that a considerable capital had been subscribed for the purpose; and that it was the intention to carry it on from Marseilles, under the French flag.

His lordship was indebted to ourselves for this important and authentic item of intelligence. It was in his possession within twenty-four hours of its coming into our own. Subsequently he read the letter at length to the meeting at the London Tavern, so that it had a large publicity. Private representations were also made, both by his lordship and ourselves, to the Government, and assurances were received that it would not lose sight of the subject.

The action of the Government would appear to have been sufficiently prompt, for we find that the French Minister of Marine has just issued a circular to the Maritime Prefects of France, of which the following is a translation :

"MONSIEUR LE PREFECT,

"I have been informed, that since the Government of the United States has conceded to the English Government the right of search, by British cruisers, of American vessels suspected of carrying on the Slave-trade, the slavers appear disposed to take advantage of our flag to shelter their guilty enterprises; and a member of the House of Lords recently mentioned, in his place in Parliament, the case of a vessel which was being fitted out in one of the French ports, ostensibly for a commercial operation, but in reality to undertake a slave-carrying voyage from Congo. I invite you to recommend the maritime authorities of the different ports in your arrondissement to exercise a most vigilant surveillance over the vessels which they may observe to be fitting out for the coast of Africa, to find out the owners, and cause them to give an account of their stores and cargoes. Any operations which may appear to be suspicious must be immediately communicated to me, in order that, in case of need, I may give timely notice to the commander of the squadron on the West Coast of Africa.—Receive, &c.

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